# DOCUALERT

-September / October 2009-

# INFORMATION RESOURCE CENTER U.S. EMBASSY MADRID

Tel. 91 587 25 28- E-mail: parejamx@state.gov

DOCUALERT is a monthly information service highlighting documents from government agencies and think tanks and articles from leading U.S. journals. The materials cover international relations, U.S. foreign and domestic policies and trends. Full text of some of these articles can be ordered from <a href="mailto:parejamx@state.gov">parejamx@state.gov</a>

### INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

### **REPORTS**

<u>United States Actions to Counter Piracy Off the Horn of Africa</u>. U.S. Department of State. September 1, 2009.

<u>Fact Sheet on U.S. Missile Defense Policy: A "Phased, Adaptive Approach" for Missile Defense in Europe</u>. Office of the Press Secretary, The White House. September 17, 2009.

<u>Post-G-20 Meeting Fact Sheets</u>. Office of the Press Secretary, The White House. September 25, 2009.

Bradford, Colin I; Linn, Johannes F. <u>Is the G-20 Summit a Step Toward a New Global Economic Order?</u>. The Brookings Institution. September 2009.

**U.S. Interests and Policy Choices in Afghanistan**. Testimony of Steve Coll before the Committee on Foreign Affairs, United States House of Representatives. October 15, 2009.

Felbab-Brown, Vanda. <u>The Obama Administration's New Counternarcotics Strategy in Afghanistan: Its Promises and Potential Pitfalls</u>. The Brookings Institution. September 2009.

Fix, Michael, et al. <u>Migration and the Global Recession</u>
. Migration Policy Institute, BBC World Service. September 2009.

Haddal, Chad C. <u>Policy Challenges in International Migration</u>. Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress. August 11, 2009.

Arieff, Alexis, et.al. <u>The Global Economic Crisis: Impact on Sub-Saharan Africa and Global Policy Responses</u>. Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress. August 25, 2009.

Denmark, Abraham, et.al. <u>China's Arrival: A Strategic Framework for a Global Relationship</u>. Center for a New American Security. September 22, 2009.

Rosenau, William, et.al. <u>Corporations and Counterinsurgency</u>. Rand Corporation. September 2009.

Woocher, Lawrence. <u>Preventing Violent Conflict: Assessing Progress, Meeting</u>
<u>Challenges</u>. Center for Conflict Analysis and Prevention, U.S. Institute of Peace. September 2009.

Rubenstein, Leonard S. <u>Post-Conflict Health Reconstruction: New Foundations for U.S. Policy</u>. U.S. Institute of Peace. September 24, 2009.

Hufbauer, Gary Clyde; Kim, Jisun. <u>The World Trade Organization and Climate Change:</u> <u>Challenges and Options</u>. Peterson Institute for International Economics. September 2009.

The Brookings Institution. <u>Climate Change Policy: Recommendations to Reach</u> <u>Consensus</u>. September 2009.

Meeting the Climate Challenge: Core Elements of an Effective Response to Climate Change. Center for American Progress; United Nations Foundation. October 6, 2009.

Seligsohn, Deborah, et al. <u>China, The United States, and the Climate Change</u> Challenge. World Resources Institute. October 2009.

Global Governance Monitor. Council on Foreign Relations. September 23, 2009.

#### **ARTICLES**

Vidino, Lorenzo. <u>Europe's New Security Dilemma</u>. The Washington Quarterly. October 2009.

Brzezinski, Zbigniew. <u>An Agenda for NATO: Toward a Global Security Web</u>. Foreign Affairs. September/October 2009.

Michta, Andrew A. <u>NATO Enlargement Post-1989: Successful Adaptation or Decline?</u>. *Contemporary European History*. August 2009.

Trenin, Dmitri. NATO and Russia: Partnership or Peril?. Current History. October 2009.

Goldgeier, James M. <u>A Realistic Reset with Russia: Practical Expectations for U.S.-Russian Relations</u>. *Policy Review*. August/September 2009.

Simon, Steven; Stevenson, Jonathan. <u>Afghanistan: How Much is Enough?</u>. *Survival*. October/November 2009.

Parasiliti, Andrew. Iran: Diplomacy and Deterrence. Survival. October 2009.

Gause, F. Gregory III. <u>Islamists and the Grave Bell</u>. *National Interest*. September/October 2009.

Schaffer, Teresita C. <u>The United States, India, and Global Governance: Can They Work Together?</u>. The Washington Quarterly. July 2009.

Joffe, Josef. <u>The Default Power: The False Prophecy of America's Decline</u>. Foreign Affairs. September/October 2009.

Zarate, Juan C. <u>Harnessing the Financial Furies: Smart Financial Power and National Security</u>. The Washington Quarterly. October 2009.

Reveron, Derek S. Military Engagement, Strategy, and Policy. Orbis. Summer 2009.

Joyner, Christopher. <u>Navigating Troubled Waters: Somalia, Piracy, and Maritime</u> <u>Terrorism</u>. *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*. Summer 2009

Mendelsohn, Barak. Al-Qaeda's Palestinian Problem. Survival. August/September 2009.

Dunn, Lewis A. <u>The NPT: Accessing the Past, Building the Future</u>. *Nonproliferation Review*. July 2009.

Fuhrmann, Matthew. <u>Spreading Temptation: Proliferation and Peaceful Nuclear</u> <u>Cooperation Agreements</u>. *International Security*. Summer 2009.

Levi, Michael A. <u>Copenhagen's Inconvenient Truth: How to Salvage the Climate</u> <u>Conference</u>. Foreign Affairs. September/October 2009.

### **U.S. DOMESTIC POLICY AND TRENDS**

### **REPORTS**

<u>The Economic Impact of the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act of 2009:</u>
<u>First Quarterly Report</u>. Council of Economic Advisers, Executive Office of the President. September 10, 2009.

Current Economic Conditions: Summary. Federal Reserve District. September 9, 2009.

Waits, Mary Jo; Gander, Sue. <u>State Green Economy Profiles</u>. National Governors Association. September 29, 2009.

McKethan, Aaron, et.al. <u>Improving Quality and Value in the U.S. Health Care System</u>. Bipartisan Policy Center. August 21, 2009.

<u>Income, Poverty, and Health Insurance Coverage in the United States: 2008</u>. U.S. Census Bureau, U.S. Department of Commerce. September 10, 2009.

Vigdor, Jacob, L. <u>Measuring Immigrant Assimilation in the United States</u>. Manhattan Institute. October 2009.

Breaking the Immigration Stalemate: From Deep Disagreements to Constructive Proposals. The Brookings-Duke Immigration Policy Roundatable. October 6, 2009.

Wheeler, Russell. <u>Seeking Fair and Effective Administration of Immigration Laws</u>. The Brookings Institution. August 2009.

<u>Demographic Profiles of U.S. Hispanics by Country of Origin</u>. Pew Hispanic Center. September 16, 2009.

The Hispanic Origin Population in the United States: 2007 and 2008. U.S. Bureau of Census. September 30, 2009.

Simms, Margaret C., et al. <u>Racial and Ethnic Disparities Among Low-Income Families</u>. Urban Institute. August 11, 2009.

Dams, Gina; McDaniel, Marla. <u>Fulfilling the Promise of Preschool For All: Insights into Issues Affecting Access for Selected Immigrant Groups in Chicago</u>. Urban Institute. August 5, 2009.

<u>MetroMonitor: Tracking Economic Recession and Recovery in America's 100</u> <u>Largest Metropolitan Areas</u>. Metropolitan Policy Program, The Brookings Institution. September 2009.

Smith, Aaron, et al. <u>The Internet and Civic Engagement</u>. Pew Internet & American Life Project. September 2009.

Kirchhoff, Suzanne M. <u>The U.S. Newspaper Industry in Transition</u>. Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress. July 8, 2009.

Podesta, John, et. al. <u>The Clean Energy Investment Agenda: A Comprehensive Approach to Building the Low-Carbon Economy</u>. Center for American Progress, September 21, 2009.

<u>Fighting Oil Addiction: Ranking States' Oil Vulnerability and Solutions for Change</u>. Natural Resources Defense Council. August 2009.

America's Energy Future: Technology and Transformation: Summary Edition. Committee on America's Energy Future; National Academy of Sciences; National Research Council. July 28, 2009.

### **ARTICLES**

Cook, Charles E., Jr. <u>Washington Hold'em: The New Era in U.S. Politics</u>. *The Washington Quarterly*. October 2009.

Abramowitz, Alan I. Forecasting the Midterm Elections: An Early Look at What to Expect in 2010. Larry Sabato's Crystal Ball. September 3, 2009.

Abramowitz, Alan; Teixeira, Ruy. <u>The Decline of the White Working Class and the Rise of a Mass Upper-Middle Class</u>. *Political Science Quarterly*. Fall 2009.

Zingales, Luigi. Capitalism after the Crisis. National Affairs. Fall 2009.

Masterson, Kathryn. <u>Islamic Scholars Plan for America's First Muslim College</u>. *Chronicle of Higher Education*. September 25, 2009.

Fischer, Karin. <u>America Falling: Longtime Dominance in Education Erodes</u>. Chronicle of Higher Education. October 9, 2009.

Bowden, Mark. The Story Behind the Story. The Atlantic. October 2009.

Cunningham, Brent. <u>Take a Stand: How Journalism Can Regain its Relevance</u>. *Columbia Journalism Review*. September/October 2009.

Greenwald, Bruce; Knee, Jonathan; Seave, Ava. <u>The Moguls' New Clothes</u>. *The Atlantic*, October 2009.

Theroux, Paul. <u>Taking the Great American Roadtrip</u>. *Smithsonian Magazine*. September 2009.

### INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

#### **REPORTS**

UNITED STATES ACTIONS TO COUNTER PIRACY OFF THE HORN OF AFRICA U.S. Department of State. September 1, 2009 [HTML format, various paging] http://www.state.gov/t/pm/rls/fs/128540.htm

"The United States Government, in concert with the American maritime industry and other concerned nations and international organizations, continues to work to prevent pirates operating in the waters off of the Horn of Africa from interfering with maritime commerce, endangering mariners, hindering the provision of humanitarian aid to East Africa, and further destabilizing this troubled region."

# FACT SHEET ON U.S. MISSILE DEFENSE POLICY: A "PHASED, ADAPTIVE APPROACH" FOR MISSILE DEFENSE IN EUROPE

Office of the Press Secretary, The White House. September 17, 2009 [HTML format, various paging]

http://www.whitehouse.gov/the\_press\_office/FACT-SHEET-US-Missile-Defense-Policy-A-Phased-Adaptive-Approach-for-Missile-Defense-in-Europe/

"President Obama has approved the recommendation of Secretary of Defense Gates and the Joint Chiefs of Staff for a phased, adaptive approach for missile defense in Europe. The approach is based on an assessment of the Iranian missile threat, and a commitment to deploy technology that is proven, cost-effective, and adaptable to an evolving security environment."

#### **POST-G-20 MEETING FACT SHEETS**

Office of the Press Secretary, The White House. September 25, 2009. http://www.whitehouse.gov/the\_press\_office/Post-G20-meeting-fact-sheets/ The following fact sheets outline the outcomes of the Pittsburgh Summit hosted by President Obama on September 24th and 25th. The fact sheets included are:

- \*The Pittsburgh Summit: Key Accomplishments
- \*Creating a 21st Century International Economic Architecture
- \*Framework for Strong, Sustainable, and Balanced Growth
- \*Bold and Coordinated Actions from Crisis to Recovery
- \*Partnering on Food Security
- \*Acting on our Global Energy and Climate Change Challenges
- \*Support for the Most Vulnerable

#### IS THE G-20 SUMMIT A STEP TOWARD A NEW GLOBAL ECONOMIC ORDER?

Bradford, Colin I; Linn, Johannes F. The Brookings Institution [Policy Brief #170] September 2009 [PDF format, 7 pages]

 $\frac{\text{http://www.brookings.edu/}{\sim}/\text{media/Files/rc/papers/2009/09 g20 bradford linn/09 g20 bradford linn.gdf}}{\text{documents}}$ 

"The global crisis has moved the United States, along with the rest of the world, toward a new global economic order, with the G-20 summit as one of the principal manifestations of the new global governance system. Of course, movement toward this new economic arrangement and progress toward reformed global governance are not inevitable. It will take a clear and sustained commitment to a new set of values and strong leadership, especially from President Obama and the United States, to ensure that the G-20 summit is not a short-lived exception to what had been a long-standing stalemate in global governance reform. The effectiveness of the G-20 in addressing the global economic crisis could lay the foundation for a new global order and provide the impetus for the many other necessary global governance reforms. Whether or not this happens will depend to a significant extent on the direction chosen by President Obama." Colin I. Bradford is a nonresident senior fellow in Global Economy and Development. Johannes F. Linn is the director of the Wolfensohn Center for Development and a former World Bank vice president for Europe and Central Asia.

### **U.S. INTERESTS AND POLICY CHOICES IN AFGHANISTAN**

Testimony of Steve Coll before the Committee on Foreign Affairs, United States House of Representatives. October 15, 2009 [PDF format, 12 pages] <a href="http://foreignaffairs.house.gov/111/col101509.pdf">http://foreignaffairs.house.gov/111/col101509.pdf</a>

Steve Coll, President of the New America Foundation, reviews and "offer judgments about some of the arguments over U.S. policy choices in Afghanistan that are prominent around the deliberations of the Obama Administration and Congress. By comparison to the challenges facing the Soviet Union after it began to "Afghan-ize" its strategy around 1985 and prepare for the withdrawal of its troops, the situation facing the United States and its allies today is much more favorable. Afghan public opinion remains much more favorably disposed toward international forces and cooperation with international governments than it ever was toward the Soviet Union... American policy over the next five or ten years must proceed from the understanding that the ultimate exit strategy for international forces from South Asia is Pakistan's economic success and political normalization, manifested in an Army that shares power with civilian leaders in a reasonably stable constitutional bargain, and in the increasing integration of Pakistan's economy with regional economies, including India's. Such an evolution will likely consolidate the emerging view within Pakistan's elites that the country requires a new and less self-defeating national security doctrine."

# THE OBAMA ADMINISTRATION'S NEW COUNTERNARCOTICS STRATEGY IN AFGHANISTAN: ITS PROMISES AND POTENTIAL PITFALLS

Felbab-Brown, Vanda. The Brookings Institution [Policy Brief #171] September 2009 [PDF format, 7 pages]

http://www.brookings.edu/~/media/Files/rc/papers/2009/09 afghanistan felbabbrown/09 afghanistan felbabbrown.pdf

"Nearly eight years after a U.S.-led invasion toppled the Taliban regime, Afghanistan remains far from stable. As President Barack Obama considers alternatives to increasing the number of U.S. troops in Afghanistan, his administration's new counternarcotics strategy meshes well with counterinsurgency and state-building efforts in the country. It is a welcome break from previous ineffective and counterproductive policies. The effectiveness of the policy with respect to counternarcotics, counterinsurgency and state-building, however, will depend on the operationalization of the strategy. The details are not yet clear, but the strategy potentially faces many pitfalls. The Obama administration will need to reduce expectations for quick fixes and present realistic timelines to Congress, the U.S. public and the international community for how long rural development and other counternarcotics policies in Afghanistan will take to show meaningful and sustainable progress that advances human security of the Afghan people, mitigates conflict and enhance state building. Unless this is conveyed, there is a real danger that even a well-designed counternarcotics policy will be prematurely and unfortunately discarded as ineffective." Vanda Felbab-Brown is a fellow in the 21st Century Defense Initiative in Foreign Policy and the author of Shooting Up: Counterinsurgency and the War on Drugs (Brookings Press, forthcoming, December 2009). She is also an adjunct professor in the Security Studies Program at Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service.

# **MIGRATION AND THE GLOBAL RECESSION**

Fix, Michael, et al. Migration Policy Institute, BBC World Service. September 2009 [Note: contains copyrighted material] [PDF format, 131 pages] http://www.migrationpolicy.org/pubs/MPI-BBCreport-Sept09.pdf

The global financial crisis that began in September 2008 can be viewed as having a deeper and more global effect on the movement of people around the world than any other economic downturn in the post-World War II era of migration, finds the report. It explores how the recession has affected the movement of some of the world's more than 195 million migrants and their remittances in locations around the globe. This report seeks to explore the myriad impacts of this crisis on migration flows, remittances, and on migrants themselves as they adjust to the sweeping economic changes set in motion by the deepest global financial downturn since the Great Depression. It provides data on migration, remittances, employment, and poverty rates for immigrants and the native-born alike; and examines the policy changes some countries have enacted to suppress migrant inflows, encourage departures (including through recent "pay-to-go" plans), and protect labor markets for native-born worker. Michael Fix is Senior Vice President and Director of Studies at the Migration Policy Institute (MPI), as well as Co-Director of MPI's National Center on Immigrant Integration Policy.

### POLICY CHALLENGES IN INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

Haddal, Chad C. Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress. August 11, 2009 [PDF format, 21 pages]

http://italy.usembassy.gov/pdf/other/R40753.pdf

"Immigration is a leading policy concern for many countries around the world, including the United States. Members of Congress have for several years had immigration policy as one of their main legislative issues. Yet, determining an optimal immigration policy has grown increasingly complex as economic, cultural, and security pressures all compete for political consideration. In an effort to tackle some of this complexity, this report serves as a broad overview of the standard theory of international migration and offers a brief synopsis of the major immigration-related policy challenges potentially involved in the legislative debates in Congress. The overview examines several possible issues for Congress as it considers new legislation on immigration reform, including (1) how new immigration legislation might affect migratory behavior and (2) the possible effects of increased or decreased migration on related policy issues." Chad C. Haddal is an analyst in Immigration Policy at the Congressional Research Service.

# THE GLOBAL ECONOMIC CRISIS: IMPACT ON SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA AND GLOBAL POLICY RESPONSES

Arieff, Alexis, et.al. Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress. August 25, 2009 [PDF format, 30 pages]

http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/128815.pdf

This report analyzes Africa's vulnerability to the global crisis and potential implications for economic growth, poverty alleviation, fiscal balances, and political stability. The report describes channels through which the crisis is affecting Africa, and provides information on international efforts to address the impact, including U.S. policies and those of multilateral institutions in which the United States plays a major role. "Many analysts were initially optimistic that the impact of the global financial crisis on Sub-Saharan Africa would be negligible. Many African economies are among the least exposed to the global financial system, and African banks hold few of the "toxic assets" that helped spark the crisis. However, as the financial crisis has deepened into a global recession, most agree that Africa will be strongly affected. The impact of the global economic crisis threatens to undermine long-term U.S. foreign policy goals in Africa, including regional stability, increased trade, the alleviation of poverty and hunger, and socioeconomic development. Congress has acted to address the impact of the economic crisis on poor countries, though legislators have not specifically targeted assistance at African countries. Alexis Arieff is an Analyst in African Affairs at the Congressional Research Service.

# CHINA'S ARRIVAL: A STRATEGIC FRAMEWORK FOR A GLOBAL RELATIONSHIP Denmark, Abraham, et. al. Center for a New American Security. September 22, 2009 [PDF format, 184 pages]

http://www.cnas.org/files/documents/publications/CNAS%20China's%20Arrival Final%20R eport.pdf

According to the report, China's rise is one of the most significant geopolitical events in modern history, with important ramifications for U.S. interests, regional power balances, and the international order. As the Obama administration confronts a broad set of worldwide challenges, questions remain as to how the United States should engage China amidst uncertainty about its long-term intentions and how to balance this important relationship against concerns regarding China's behavior in the international community." This volume presents an integrated and comprehensive approach to varied elements of the U.S.-China relationship — political, military, diplomatic, and economic — that is critical to ensure these interconnected elements are reinforcing, and not undercutting, U.S. strategic interests." Abraham M. Denmark is a Fellow at the Center for a New American Security.

### **CORPORATIONS AND COUNTERINSURGENCY**

Rosenau, William, et.al. Rand Corporation. September 2009 [PDF format, 57 pages] <a href="http://www.rand.org/pubs/occasional\_papers/2009/RAND\_OP259.pdf">http://www.rand.org/pubs/occasional\_papers/2009/RAND\_OP259.pdf</a>

"Like nongovernmental organizations and private military companies, large multinational corporations (MNCs) can play significant roles in zones of violent conflict. Using a set of three case studies, the authors explore MNC operations in Liberia, Papua New Guinea, and the Niger Delta region of Nigeria. Today, in countries as diverse as Colombia, Papua New Guinea, and Nigeria, multinational corporations (MNCs) are helping to shape zones of conflict in significant ways. However, although academic specialists have noted the growing governance and security roles of MNCs, U.S. strategy and policy have been slow to acknowledge the significance of these corporate actors and the importance of private forms of governance more generally." To provide policymakers and analysts with a fuller understanding of corporate activities in conflict areas, this paper explores a set of case studies on Shell in Nigeria, Placer Dome, and Firestone. The paper also provides a framework for thinking about what roles (if any) MNCs could play in future stability operations. William Rosenau is a political scientist in the Rand Corporation's Washington Office.

PREVENTING VIOLENT CONFLICT: ASSESSING PROGRESS, MEETING CHALLENGES Woocher, Lawrence. Center for Conflict Analysis and Prevention, U.S. Institute of Peace. September 2009 [PDF format, 16 pages] <a href="http://www.usip.org/files/preventing-violent-conflict.pdf">http://www.usip.org/files/preventing-violent-conflict.pdf</a>

The report argues for an enhanced global focus on the prevention of violent conflict relative to more reactive approaches. It reviews the state of the conflict prevention field in terms of norms and political commitments, institutional capacities, and policy-relevant knowledge and discusses key challenges ahead. This report proceeds in three parts. First, it discusses the importance of conflict prevention, drawing on analysis of conflict trends and current threats. Second, it assesses progress achieved over the last decade toward preventing violent conflict. Third, it concludes by analyzing major current challenges to realizing the aspiration of effective prevention and making a number of recommendations for meeting these challenges. Woocher finds it is not enough to merely prevent a relapse of war; the international community must make a greater effort to respond to warning signs as a way to preempt the eruption of deadly violence. Much attention is focused on reactive approaches to conflict - rebuilding and resolving - but prevention must hold the same level of importance. The report recommends ways to advance the conflict prevention agenda amid various international challenges, including monitoring the implementation of political commitments to conflict prevention and developing new strategies to regularize the practice of prevention. Lawrence Woocher is a senior program officer in the United States Institute of Peace's Center for Conflict Analysis and Prevention.

**POST-CONFLICT HEALTH RECONSTRUCTION: NEW FOUNDATIONS FOR U.S. POLICY** Rubenstein, Leonard S. U.S. Institute of Peace. September 24, 2009 [PDF format, 62 pages] <a href="http://www.usip.org/files/resources/post-conflict">http://www.usip.org/files/resources/post-conflict</a> health reconstruction.pdf

"Stabilization and reconstruction activities in the aftermath of protracted armed conflict have been increasingly recognized as critical to aid a suffering population, provide a foundation for a well-governed state, and help prevent renewed conflict. Despite the increasing prominence of global health in U.S. foreign policy, however, the place and priority of health reconstruction as part of post-conflict U.S. stabilization initiatives remains uncertain. This Working Paper explores key questions that need to be answered both to

fashion an appropriate policy and structure aid programs to support them. The paper reviews what we know about the impact of war on health and health systems, what we have learned about effective strategies to help states meet the health needs of their populations in the aftermath of conflict, and makes recommendations for an appropriate foundation for post-conflict health recovery, and for the structure of U.S. foreign assistance programs, funding mechanisms, and agency responsibilities, including that of the Department of Defense." Leonard Rubenstein is a Visiting Scholar at the Center for Public Health and Human Rights at the Bloomberg Johns Hopkins School of Public Health. He wrote this paper during his tenure as a Jennings Randolph Senior Fellow at the U.S. Institute of Peace.

# THE WORLD TRADE ORGANIZATION AND CLIMATE CHANGE: CHALLENGES AND OPTIONS

Hufbauer, Gary Clyde; Kim, Jisun. Peterson Institute for International Economics. September 2009 [PDF format, 17 pages] <a href="http://www.iie.com/publications/wp/wp09-9.pdf">http://www.iie.com/publications/wp/wp09-9.pdf</a>

"Trade and environment intersect in many ways. Aside from the broad debate as to whether economic growth and trade adversely affect the environment, there are linkages between existing rules of the World Trade Organization (WTO) and rules established in various multilateral environmental agreements. Controlling greenhouse gas emissions promises to be a top priority for both national and international agendas, and special attention must be given to the relationship between the WTO and the emerging international regime on climate change. This working paper examines the nexus of the WTO and climate change and discusses challenges and options." This paper was prepared for the Inaugural Conference of Thinking Ahead on International Trade (TAIT): Challenges Facing the World Trade System, September 17–18, 2009, organized by the Centre for Trade and Economic Integration (CTEI) at the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva, in collaboration with the Economic Research and Statistics Division of the Secretariat of the World Trade Organization. Gary Clyde Hufbauer has been the Reginald Jones Senior Fellow at the Peterson Institute for International Economics since 1992. Jisun Kim is a research assistant at the Peterson Institute for International Economics.

### **CLIMATE CHANGE POLICY: RECOMMENDATIONS TO REACH CONSENSUS**

The Brookings Institution. September 2009 [PDF format, 68 pages] <a href="http://www.brookings.edu/papers/2009/~/media/Files/rc/papers/2009/09 climate change-poverty/09 climate change poverty.pdf">http://www.brookings.edu/papers/2009/~/media/Files/rc/papers/2009/09 climate change poverty.pdf</a>

In this publication Brookings experts and colleagues from the public and private sectors offer a range of recommendations for policymakers to forge sustainable climate change solutions that revitalize the global economy. "The contours of the international climate change negotiations are pretty clear: the U.S., EU and Japan are going to commit to incremental reductions by 2020, more dramatic ones by 2030, and very steep ones by 2050. They are looking to developing countries to more aggressively abate their emissions in the near term, and to start reducing them in the 2030 timeframe, with real reductions coming by mid-century. Developing countries want a steeper commitment by industrial countries, and want to sequence any of their own potential commitments based on whether industrial countries actually live up to their agreements. Industrial countries will also work to increase their commitments on helping developing countries adapt to a changing climate, and on helping poorer nations finance efforts to reduce greenhouse gas emissions and to protect carbon-capturing forests. Whether or not an agreement can be forged on that by Copenhagen is still very much up in the air."

# MEETING THE CLIMATE CHALLENGE: CORE ELEMENTS OF AN EFFECTIVE RESPONSE TO CLIMATE CHANGE

Center for American Progress; United Nations Foundation. October 6, 2009 [Note: contains copyrighted material] [PDF format, 15 pages] <a href="http://www.americanprogress.org/issues/2009/10/pdf/UNclimateissues.pdf">http://www.americanprogress.org/issues/2009/10/pdf/UNclimateissues.pdf</a>

"Achievable gains in energy efficiency, renewable energy, forest conservation, and sustainable land use worldwide could achieve up to 75 percent of needed global emissions reductions in 2020 at a net savings of \$14 billion. These actions, along with additional investments in climate adaptation, would deliver a wide range of economic, security, and environmental benefits in developed and developing countries. According to the report, greater international support for these core elements would make an immediate contribution to solving the climate problem and help to achieve a new international climate agreement."

## CHINA, THE UNITED STATES, AND THE CLIMATE CHANGE CHALLENGE

Seligsohn, Deborah, et al. World Resources Institute. October 2009 [PDF format, 19 pages] <a href="http://pdf.wri.org/china\_united\_states\_climate\_change\_challenge.pdf">http://pdf.wri.org/china\_united\_states\_climate\_change\_challenge.pdf</a>

"China's energy and climate change policy is based on its own assessment of national interest as outlined both in its 2007 National Climate Change Program and 2008 Climate Change White Paper. China's climate policy meshes with concerns about energy security, pollution abatement and the cost of energy itself, as well as the impacts of climate change and China's international reputation. The report discusses the successes and challenges to effective regulation in China. It also addresses U.S. competitiveness concerns in relation to the introduction of U.S. cap-and-trade policies, and specific opportunities for enhanced climate change cooperation between the two countries." *Deborah Seligsohn is the Principal Advisor to WRI's China Climate, Energy and Pollution Program. Previously, she served as Science Counselor at the U.S. Embassy in Beijing during twenty years spent mainly in Asia with the United States Foreign Service.* 

### **GLOBAL GOVERNANCE MONITOR**

Council on Foreign Relations. September 23, 2009. http://www.cfr.org/publication/18985/

One of CFR's publications are interactive explainers on the foreign policy, national security, and international financial issues of the day. CFR's International Institutions and Global Governance program presents this new interactive that tracks, maps, and evaluates multilateral efforts to manage international finance.

### **ARTICLES**

### **EUROPE'S NEW SECURITY DILEMMA**

Vidino, Lorenzo. *The Washington Quarterly*. October 2009, pp. 61-75. http://www.twq.com/09october/docs/09oct Vidino.pdf

"From Saudi Arabia to Indonesia, authorities have devised more or less comprehensive measures to deradicalize committed militants and prevent the radicalization of new ones. This soft approach to counterterrorism has also been adopted by some European governments. A crucial component of the programs enacted in all European countries is the participation of the Muslim community itself, which is deemed a necessary ally to stem radicalization among its youth. Yet, the Muslim community of each European country is

characterized by deep divisions along ethnic, linguistic, sectarian, and political lines. This fragmentation has prevented the formation of widely representative Muslim organizations in virtually all European countries. A source of particularly heated debate among policymakers is the role that could be played in these programs by nonviolent Islamists, such as European Muslim organizations that trace their ideological roots to various forms of political Islam. Hardly a homogeneous category, they include movements that range from those that publicly express their desire to participate in the democratic process, such as offshoots of the Muslim Brotherhood of Egypt and the Jamaat-e-Islami of Pakistan, to others such as political Salafists, who openly reject secular democracy but still oppose the use of violence against the West. Authorities in most European countries are therefore faced with the same dilemma: can nonviolent Islamists be engaged and used as partners against violent radicalization? The lack of clarity over the overarching goals of their counterterrorism efforts and the consequent inconsistency of counter radicalization strategies; limited knowledge of various aspects of political Islam, the differences among various Islamist groups, and the nature of the radicalization process itself; and the tension between the need to prevent terrorist attacks in the short term while preserving social cohesion in the long run all have European authorities mired in a real security dilemma." Lorenzo Vidino is a fellow in the Initiative on Religion in International Affairs at the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs at Harvard University, a Peace Scholar at the United States Institute of Peace.

### AN AGENDA FOR NATO: TOWARD A GLOBAL SECURITY WEB

Brzezinski, Zbigniew. Foreign Affairs. September/October 2009, pp.2-21.

"NATO's 60th anniversary, celebrated in April with pomp and circumstance by the leaders of nearly 30 allied states, generated little public interest. In assessing NATO's evolving role, one has to take into account the historical fact that in the course of its 60 years the alliance has institutionalized three truly monumental transformations in world affairs: first, the end of the centuries-long "civil war" within the West for transoceanic and European supremacy; second, the US' post-WWII commitment to the defense of Europe against Soviet domination; and third, the peaceful termination of the Cold War, which ended the geopolitical division of Europe and created the preconditions for a larger democratic EU. To remain historically relevant, NATO cannot simply expand itself into a global alliance or transform itself into a global alliance of democracies. NATO, however, has the experience, the institutions, and the means to eventually become the hub of a globe-spanning web of various regional cooperative-security undertakings among states with the growing power to act." Zbigniew Brzezinski was U.S. National Security Adviser from 1977 to 1981. His most recent book is Second Chance: Three Presidents and the Crisis of American Superpower.

# **NATO ENLARGEMENT POST-1989: SUCCESSFUL ADAPTATION OR DECLINE?** Michta, Andrew A. *Contemporary European History*. August 2009, pp. 363-376.

"NATO enlargement after the cold war contributed to the democratic transformation of post-communist states. It failed, however, to generate a larger consensus on the shared mission and to provide the requisite military capabilities. Today, notwithstanding the rhetoric of unity after the 2008 Bucharest summit, NATO struggles to reconcile the out-of-area experience of the Balkan wars with its post-9/11 tasks and the renewed territorial defense concerns raised by the 2008 Russo-Georgian war. Paradoxically, the more NATO has expanded to foster the military-political security of the new democratic states of eastern and south-eastern Europe, the less it seems capable of dealing with real security threats such as Afghanistan. Facing the possible strategic failure of its ISAF mission, NATO needs to re-evaluate the policy track chosen post-1989." Andrew A. Michta is Professor of National

Security Studies at the George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies in Germany. He is also the Mertie W. Buckman Distinguished Professor of International Studies at Rhodes College in Tennessee.

### NATO AND RUSSIA: PARTNERSHIP OR PERIL?

Trenin, Dmitri. Current History. October 2009, pp. 299-303.

The author notes that, twenty years after the fall of the Berlin Wall, the major piece of unfinished post-Cold War business is Russia's absence from a European security framework. This affects not just Russia, but its neighbors, such as Ukraine and Georgia, as seen by the August 2008 conflict in the Caucasus. Trenin says it is unlikely that Russia will join the U.S.-led NATO alliance in the foreseeable future, so the only option is to pursue the long and difficult path toward a security community that would include NATO members and non-members. He emphasizes that "it is important that the Russians do not feel that a common front of Western allies is ganging up on them," and making them feel that they are "equals among equals" would do a lot to promote security in Europe. Trenin notes that the NATO-Russia Council (NRC), founded in 2002, has been underused as a vehicle for Western-Russian security interaction; he advocates expanding the NRC's agenda, turning it into an "all-weather operation" to handle the inevitable disagreements. An expanded NRC mandate could prove beneficial in missile defense, conventional arms control and anti-drug cooperation in Afghanistan. *Dmitri Trenin is director of the Carnegie Moscow Center*.

# A REALISTIC RESET WITH RUSSIA: PRACTICAL EXPECTATIONS FOR U.S.-RUSSIAN RELATIONS

Goldgeier, James M. *Policy Review*, August/September 2009. http://www.hoover.org/publications/policyreview/51403357.html

"As we ponder the prospects for a reset, we should recall that Bill Clinton came into office in 1993 talking about the importance of multilateralism, the United Nations, and partnership with Russia. But as the United States pursued its interests, its actions inevitably caused frictions with Moscow. As Clinton did, Obama, too, will grow frustrated with the limits of multilateralism in general and the United Nations in particular, and like all American presidents (and Russian ones, for that matter), he will pursue what he believes are the country's interests... For the reset to be successful over the long run, the United States and Russia, as well as nato and Russia, will need to do what has already been signaled in the interactions early in Obama's presidency: acknowledge the differences but seek areas of cooperation where possible. Perhaps most important is to keep expectations in check so that we are not disappointed once again as we have been so often since the end of the Cold War. Achievements are possible, but the two nations will continue to define their interests differently on many of the major issues in the relationship." James Goldgeier is a professor of political science at George Washington University and a senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations.

### **AFGHANISTAN: HOW MUCH IS ENOUGH?**

Simon, Steven; Stevenson, Jonathan. Survival. October/November 2009, pp.47-67.

"US President Barack Obama's current policy favors' escalation in Afghanistan. The idea is that as the United States' military presence in Iraq is drawn down, the use of force can be refocused on Afghanistan to forge a more viable state. The principal instruments of this policy are more American troops with better force protection (a customized version of the counter-insurgency 'surge' employed with ostensible success in Iraq) and firmer bilateral diplomacy with Pakistan. The administration's policy appears to be over determined. The

premise of the policy is that the United States must 'own' Afghanistan in order to defend its strategic interests. But that premise begs the question of whether US strategic interests actually require the United States to assume the grand and onerous responsibility of rebuilding the Afghan state. They do not. The United States has two strategic imperatives in the region. One is to contain and ultimately debilitate al-Qaeda, which with the support of a resurgent Taliban on both sides of the Afghanistan-Pakistan border has reconstituted its operational base and safe havens in the tribal areas of Pakistan. The other is to limit radicalization in Pakistan, staving off the country's political disintegration and ensuring that a reasonably friendly Pakistani government remains in control and that the country's nuclear arsenal stays out of jihadist hands. The Obama administration's instincts favoring robust counter-insurgency and state-building in Afghanistan reflect the 1990s-era US and European predilection for peacekeeping, reconstruction and stabilization, and the multilateral use of force for humanitarian intervention, deployed to positive effect in the Balkans and withheld tragically in Rwanda. To the extent that this mindset was premised on an expansion of the rule of law to hitherto poorly and unjustly governed areas, such as Somalia and Bosnia, it reflects the broader conception of counter-terrorism adopted after 11 September." Steven Simon is Adjunct Senior Fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations. Jonathan Stevenson is a Professor of Strategic Studies at the US Naval War College.

### **IRAN: DIPLOMACY AND DETERRENCE**

Parasiliti, Andrew. Survival. October 2009, pp. 5-13.

"The Obama administration is not ready to concede an Iranian nuclear weapon. But absent diplomatic progress, the United States may have to accept Iran as a threshold or 'virtual' nuclear power. Neither sanctions nor deterrence is likely to prevent Iran from developing a nuclear-weapons

capability, although deterrence might prevent the country from detonating a nuclear device or formally declaring its nuclear status. Washington has

so far not threatened the use of force in Iran and is wary of the potentially negative consequences for US interests and allies of a military option that is not even certain to eliminate Iran's nuclear-weapons capability. A diplomatic breakthrough, however slim the perceived possibilities, is still the best option to halt Iran's nuclear-weapons ambitions." Andrew Parasiliti is International Institute for Strategic Studies - US and Corresponding Director, IISS-Middle East.

#### **ISLAMISTS AND THE GRAVE BELL**

Gause, F. Gregory III. *National Interest*. September/October 2009. http://www.nationalinterest.org/Article.aspx?id=22036

The author writes that the recent elections in Lebanon and the events surrounding the elections in Iran have led many U.S. opinion-makers to argue once again that democracy in the Middle East will lead to the decline of Islamist regimes due to popular opposition. Gause notes that if most Arab countries had true democracy, Islamist parties would gain even more ground, in countries with authoritarian regimes that are U.S. allies. He believes that U.S. interests are best served by promoting civil society in those countries whose leadership is resistant to change. According to the author,the U.S. must walk a fine line between its desire to promote democracy, and its interests that are not always best served by pushing for elections in the Middle East. F. Gregory Gause III is a professor of political science at the University of Vermont and the 2009–2010 Kuwait Foundation Visiting Professor of International Affairs at the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. In the spring of 2009 he held a Fulbright Fellowship at the American University of Kuwait.

# THE UNITED STATES, INDIA, AND GLOBAL GOVERNANCE: CAN THEY WORK TOGETHER?

Schaffer, Teresita C. *The Washington Quarterly*. July 2009, pp.71-87. http://www.twq.com/09july/docs/09jul\_Schaffer.pdf

"The current financial crisis has presented India with the opportunity to achieve the status of a powerful and influential state in international order. On the other hand, this role places unaccustomed demands on India. During a time of dramatic improvement in relations between India and the United States, their biggest successes have been in building up bilateral ties, while multilateral settings have produced some of their most difficult encounters, notably those in the UN and the World Trade Organization (WTO). Multilateral efforts have also created some of the most effective means for the United States and India to advance interests they share. International financial cooperation is the most promising current example. Expanded global cooperation is one of the most important ways in which the United States and India can reinvent the partnership they have begun to build. This article examines it from two perspectives: first, from the highly structured world of international organizations, and second, from the looser amalgam of institutions and nongovernmental networks that are involved in the debate on climate change. In both settings, the United States and India have a great deal at stake. Some of their interests coincide, but others clash. The challenge for both countries is how to reconcile their concepts of global leadership with their different foreign policy styles and interests." Ambassador Teresita C. Schaffer is the director of the South Asia Program at CSIS. This article has been excerpted and adapted from her new book, The United States and India in the 21st Century: Reinventing Partnership (CSIS, June 2009).

# THE DEFAULT POWER: THE FALSE PROPHECY OF AMERICA'S DECLINE

Joffe, Josef. Foreign Affairs. September/October 2009.

According to Joffe, predicting the demise of U.S. global dominance has been an intellectual sport for 50 years. Yet he argues that still no other country comes close to the United States' economic or military heft. Joffe doubts that China will eclipse the United States as a world power any time soon. "Alas, global standing is not measured by the low prices of nontradable goods, such as haircuts, bootlegged software, and government services," he says. Export dependence hurts China both by risky reliance on foreign customers and risky denial of domestic welfare. Even if China avoids internal upheaval, Joffe says, it faces the problem of a rapidly aging population. He doubts that Europe will eclipse the United States -- Europe lacks the will to use armed force as required by a global power. And the United States, alone among contending powers, shows the enlightened self-interest that breeds foreign influence, he says. Josef Joffe a Senior Fellow at Stanford's Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies, and Marc and Anita Abramowitz Fellow in International Relations at the Hoover Institution at Stanford University.

# HARNESSING THE FINANCIAL FURIES: SMART FINANCIAL POWER AND NATIONAL SECURITY

Zarate, Juan C. *The Washington Quarterly*. October 2009, pp.43-59. <a href="http://www.twg.com/09october/docs/09oct\_Zarate.pdf">http://www.twg.com/09october/docs/09oct\_Zarate.pdf</a>

"Economic sanctions have long been the national security tool of choice when neither diplomacy nor military force proves effective or possible. This tool of statecraft has become even more important to coerce and constrain the behavior of non-state networks and recalcitrant, roque regimes which often appear beyond the reach of classic U.S. power or

influence. The challenge is often how to use power to affect the interests of regimes that are likely immune to broad effects of sanctions on their populations. Over the past eight years, a new paradigm of smart financial power has emerged which has made a particular brand of financial suasion more targeted, effective, and central to critical issues of national security import. At the heart of this paradigm has been the integration of complementary financial and national security objectives to protect the integrity of the international financial system and isolate roque financial activity. This new paradigm has done away with the old orthodoxy that defined sanctions as being either unilateral or multilateral. In essence, this new brand of financial power is multilateral by nature, given that the international financial community is the key protagonist in isolating roque actors from the financial system. The United Nations and government actions are important and make financial pressure more effective, but those are not essential components of this power. If financial entities act according to their own commercial interests, targeted actors and their fronts will be denied access to the facilities of the international financial system such as bank accounts, crossborder money transfers, and letters of credit. If some banks decide to provide these services, they themselves run the risk of becoming financial pariahs, even before they become objects of sanctions themselves. In a system such as this, financial institutions act as the guardians at the gates of the financial system. Yet, how has this system evolved and what factors make it effective? How will smart financial power most likely be applied in the coming months in Iran and North Korea? Most importantly, will this tool remain effective, and what are the challenges facing the application of this smart power in the years to come?" Juan C. Zarate is a senior adviser at CSIS. Before joining CSIS, he served as the deputy assistant to the president and deputy national security advisor for combating terrorism from 2005-2009. He also served at the U.S. Department of Treasury from 2001-2005, and was the first assistant secretary for terrorist financing and financial crimes.

### **MILITARY ENGAGEMENT, STRATEGY, AND POLICY**

Reveron, Derek S. Orbis, Summer 2009, pp. 489-505.

"Many states increasingly rely on the U.S. for either the actual provision of security or the training and equipment necessary to perform security functions. By 2008, the United States was providing security assistance to 149 countries. Under the global war on terrorism banner, the Bush administration stepped up Clinton-era programs in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. All of a sudden, the military found itself building militaries in Georgia, Rwanda, Yemen, the Trans-Sahara, and the Philippines, providing disaster relief in Indonesia, Pakistan, and the Gulf Coast, and leading reconstruction efforts in Iraq and Afghanistan. Here, Reveron talks about the US military engagements, strategies and policy. He narrates that because there are so few institutional alternatives for insuring stability and security in developing states, the US military increasingly will find itself in non-warfighting roles."

**NAVIGATING TROUBLED WATERS: SOMALIA, PIRACY, AND MARITIME TERRORISM** Joyner, Christopher. *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*. Summer 2009, pp. 83-92.

The author explains why acts of piracy are occurring offshore Somalia. He evaluates how this dramatic escalation in attacks both adversely affects international shipping and confuses the legal conception of piracy under modern international law. Joyner states that the piece offers some modest recommendations for multinational action that could contribute to suppressing pirate attacks and maritime violence against commercial vessels and cruise ships in waters offshore the Horn of Africa where this demonstrates how the 1985 seajacking of the Achille Lauro and the subsequent legal quandary led to new agreements that broadened the rules relating to piracy and encompassed politically

motivated terrorist attacks. Christopher Joyner is director of the Institute for International Law and Politics and professor of Government and Foreign Service at Georgetown University.

## **AL-QAEDA'S PALESTINIAN PROBLEM**

Mendelsohn, Barak. Survival. August/September 2009, pp.71-86.

"While its ability to operate in the heart of the Middle East is in decline, al-Qaeda has issued increasing numbers of statements dedicated to the Palestinian arena. The increased attention is not coincidental. In distress, al-Qaeda is seeking to use the Palestinian question to improve its image by presenting itself as the Palestinians' true defender. However, Hamas's control over the Gaza Strip presents a serious dilemma for al-Qaeda. It is finding that there is no easy way to back its promises with action and that confronting Hamas may actually have undesirable consequences." Barak Mendelsohn is Assistant Professor of Political Science at Haverford College. He is the author of Combating Jihadism: American Hegemony and Interstate Cooperation in the War on Terrorism (University of Chicago Press, 2009).

## THE NPT: ACCESSING THE PAST, BUILDING THE FUTURE

Dunn, Lewis A. *Nonproliferation Review*. July 2009, pp. 143-172. <a href="http://cns.miis.edu/npr/pdfs/npr">http://cns.miis.edu/npr/pdfs/npr</a> 16-2 dunn.pdf

This article provides an analysis of the 1968 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty's (NPT) successes and failures to date. The author also examines the prospects for the upcoming May 2010 NPT Review Conference. Ambassador Dunn suggests 15 possible steps to strengthen the treaty. He recommends pursuing three plans of action to establish a roadmap between the 2010 meeting and the next review conference in five years. The first plan would be organized around non-proliferation goals. Peaceful uses of nuclear energy would be the focus of the second plan. The last one would explore the broader ramifications of nuclear disarmament. Lewis A. Dunn is a senior vice-president for Science Applications International Corporation. Dr. Dunn was former Assistant Director of the US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (1983-1987) and Ambassador to the 1985 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Conference.

# SPREADING TEMPTATION: PROLIFERATION AND PEACEFUL NUCLEAR COOPERATION AGREEMENTS

Fuhrmann, Matthew. *International Security*. Summer 2009, pp. 7-41. http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/files/IS3401 pp007-041 Fuhrmann.pdf

Fuhrmann notes that "proliferation-proof" nuclear assistance does not exist. Transfer of nuclear technology and know-how for peaceful purposes invariably leads to the development of weapons programs, and countries that have received such assistance are more likely to produce nuclear weapons, especially when facing security threats. A study of two thousand civilian nuclear cooperation agreements over the past half-century bears this out. The author writes that the link between civilian nuclear cooperation and proliferation is surprisingly broad, and casts doubt on convention wisdom. He argues that major nuclear suppliers such as the U.S. should reconsider their willingness to assist other countries in peaceful nuclear cooperation. Matthew Fuhrmann is Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of South Carolina.

# COPENHAGEN'S INCONVENIENT TRUTH: HOW TO SALVAGE THE CLIMATE CONFERENCE

Levi, Michael A. Foreign Affairs. September/October, 2009.

"This December, diplomats from nearly 200 countries will gather in Copenhagen to negotiate a successor to the 1997 Kyoto Protocol, which for the first time bound wealthy countries to specific cuts in greenhouse gas emissions. Hopes are higher than ever for a breakthrough climate deal. For the past eight years, many argued that developing nations reluctant to commit to a new global climate-change deal -- particularly China and India -- were simply hiding behind the US, whose enthusiastic engagement was all that was needed for a breakthrough. The best Copenhagen can do on mitigation, finance, and technology is to establish a longer-term bargaining process in which the goal is getting the major developing countries to agree to specific emissions-cutting measures and getting wealthy countries to agree to provide assistance to poorer ones while also cutting their own emissions." Michael A. Levi is David M. Rubenstein Senior Fellow for Energy and the Environment at the Council on Foreign Relations.

# **U.S. DOMESTIC POLICY AND TRENDS**

#### **REPORTS**

# THE ECONOMIC IMPACT OF THE AMERICAN RECOVERY AND REINVESTMENT ACT OF 2009: FIRST QUARTERLY REPORT

Council of Economic Advisers, Executive Office of the President. September 10, 2009 [PDF format, 48 pages]

http://www.whitehouse.gov/assets/documents/CEA ARRA Report Final.pdf

"As part of the unprecedented accountability and transparency provisions included in the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act of 2009 (ARRA)the Council of Economic Advisers was charged with providing to Congress quarterly reports on the effects of the Recovery Act on overall economic activity, and on employment in particular. In this first report, we provide an assessment of the effects of the Act in its first six months. Any estimates of the impact of the ARRA at this early stage must therefore be regarded as preliminary and understood to be subject to considerable uncertainty. In this regard, it is important to note that there has not yet been any direct reporting by recipients of ARRA funds on job retention and creation. Such direct reporting data will be evaluated and incorporated in future reports. Because of the inherent difficulties in the analysis, we approach the task of estimating the impact of the Recovery Act from a number of different directions. Our multifaceted analysis suggests that the ARRA has had a substantial positive impact on the growth of real gross domestic product (GDP) and on employment in the second and third quarters of 2009. This analysis provides a first pass at the important issue of the industrial and geographic impact of the Recovery Act. We estimate that the Act has had particularly strong effects in manufacturing, construction, retail trade, and temporary employment services. The employment effects are distributed across states, with larger effects in states more severely impacted by the recession."

#### **CURRENT ECONOMIC CONDITIONS: SUMMARY**

Federal Reserve District. September 9, 2009. http://www.federalreserve.gov/fomc/beigebook/2009/20090909/fullreport20090909.pdf

Commonly known as the Beige Book, this report is published eight times per year. Each Federal Reserve Bank gathers anecdotal information on current economic conditions in its

District through reports from Bank and Branch directors and interviews with key business contacts, economists, market experts, and other sources. The Beige Book summarizes this information by District and sector. An overall summary of the twelve district reports is prepared by a designated Federal Reserve Bank on a rotating basis.

# **STATE GREEN ECONOMY PROFILES**

Waits, Mary Jo; Gander, Sue. National Governors Association. September 29, 2009 [Note: contains copyrighted material] [HTML format with links] <a href="http://www.nga.org/portal/site/nga/menuitem.9123e83a1f6786440ddcbeeb501010a0/?vgnextoid=ce5bea15a18e3210VgnVCM1000005e00100aRCRD">http://www.nga.org/portal/site/nga/menuitem.9123e83a1f6786440ddcbeeb501010a0/?vgnextoid=ce5bea15a18e3210VgnVCM1000005e00100aRCRD</a>

As governors across the country look at ways they can help build a green economy in their state, the National Governors Association Center for Best Practices (NGA Center) has commissioned Collaborative Economics Inc. (CEI) to prepare a profile of each state's "green" economy. State profiles can be found by clicking on the map. The data is designed to provide a detailed, empirical account of each state's existing assets across multiple green sectors and serve as a foundation for identifying future growth areas and related needs. Mary Jo Waits is Director of the Social, Economic & Workforce Programs Division and Sue Gander is Director of the Energy, Environment & Natural Resources Division both at the Center for Best Practices at the National Governors Association.

### IMPROVING QUALITY AND VALUE IN THE U.S. HEALTH CARE SYSTEM

McKethan, Aaron, et.al. Bipartisan Policy Center. August 21, 2009 [PDF format, 72 pages] <a href="http://www.bipartisanpolicy.org/sites/default/files/BPC8-09-PCHC%20Qual%20rpt-8-20-09.pdf">http://www.bipartisanpolicy.org/sites/default/files/BPC8-09-PCHC%20Qual%20rpt-8-20-09.pdf</a>

"The U.S. health care system faces significant challenges that clearly indicate the urgent need for reform. Attention has rightly focused on the approximately 46 million Americans who are uninsured, and on the many insured Americans who face rapid increases in premiums and out-of-pocket costs. As Congress and the Obama Administration consider ways to invest new funds to reduce the number of Americans without insurance coverage, we must simultaneously address shortfalls in the quality and efficiency of care that lead to higher costs and to poor health outcomes. To do otherwise casts doubt on the feasibility and sustainability of coverage expansions and also ensures that our current health care system will continue to have large gaps — even for those with access to insurance coverage. This report reviews the evidence on a range of payment and delivery system reforms designed to improve quality and value." Aaron McKethan Ph.D., is the Research Director at the Engelberg Center for Health Reform, Brookings Institution.

# INCOME, POVERTY, AND HEALTH INSURANCE COVERAGE IN THE UNITED STATES: 2008

U.S. Census Bureau, U.S. Department of Commerce. September 10, 2009. <a href="http://www.census.gov/prod/2009pubs/p60-236.pdf">http://www.census.gov/prod/2009pubs/p60-236.pdf</a>

"This report presents data on income, poverty, and health insurance coverage in the United States based on information collected in the 2009 and earlier Annual Social and Economic Supplements (ASEC) to the Current Population Survey (CPS) conducted by the U.S. Census Bureau. The U.S. Census Bureau reports that real median household income in the United States fell 3.6 percent between 2007 and 2008, from \$52,163 to \$50,303. This breaks a string of three years of annual income increases and coincides with the recession that started in December 2007. The nation's official poverty rate in 2008 was 13.2 percent, up from 12.5 percent in 2007. There were 39.8 million people in poverty in 2008, up from 37.3

million in 2007. Meanwhile, the number of people without health insurance coverage rose from 45.7 million in 2007 to 46.3 million in 2008, while the percentage remained unchanged at 15.4 percent."

### **MEASURING IMMIGRANT ASSIMILATION IN THE UNITED STATES**

Vigdor, Jacob, L. Manhattan Institute. October 2009 [Note: contains copyrighted material] [PDF format, 52 pages]

http://www.manhattan-institute.org/pdf/cr 59.pdf

"The year 2007 marked an economic turning point in the United States. According to the National Bureau of Economic Research, the nation's economic output peaked late in the year and then began to contract. This development affected immigration in two important ways: immigrants began arriving in fewer numbers than they have since the 1960s; and those immigrants who not only arrived but stayed fell further behind the native-born population economically. Economic assimilation declined even among immigrants who arrived more than a decade ago, indicating that differences between that cohort and the native-born population widened. This report, the second in an ongoing series, takes advantage of newly released U.S. Census Bureau data from 2007 to measure changes in an index describing the state of economic, civic, and cultural assimilation of immigrants to the United States. It also explores in detail two of the factors used to compute the index: immigrants' Englishlanguage ability and naturalization rates, both of which have been affected by the reduced inflow and increased outflow of recent immigrants. Because legal adult immigrants who have been here less than five years cannot become citizens and are unlikely to have mastered English in so short a period, the economic downturn is having an effect on all three assimilation indexes: economic, of course; but also cultural assimilation, of which English skills are an important component; and civic assimilation, of which citizenship is an important component." Jacob L. Vigdor is Professor of Public Policy and Economics at Duke University and a faculty researcher at the National Bureau of Economic Research.

# BREAKING THE IMMIGRATION STALEMATE: FROM DEEP DISAGREEMENTS TO CONSTRUCTIVE PROPOSALS

The Brookings-Duke Immigration Policy Roundatable. October 6, 2009 [PDF format, 36 pages]

 $\frac{\text{http://www.brookings.edu/}{\sim}/\text{media/Files/rc/reports/2009/1006 immigration roundtable/10}}{06 \ immigration \ roundtable.pdf}$ 

The Brookings-Duke Immigration Policy Roundtable is a joint undertaking of the Kenan Institute for Ethics at Duke University (KIE) and the Governance Studies Program at the Brookings Institution. The Roundtable is a disparate gathering of twenty individuals with different experiences and perspectives: think tank analysts, political and policy entrepreneurs, community leaders, former government officials, and academics from various disciplines. The group's distinctive feature is that its members see immigration from divergent, even conflicting perspectives. Indeed, the range of views represented in this Roundtable is unprecedented in recent immigration policymaking. Over many months Roundtable participants converged on a set of recommendations that address ways to reduce illegal immigration significantly, set standards for the legalization of illegal immigrants already in this country, rebalance current visa programs, improve temporary worker programs, and assimilate and integrate immigrants into American society. We also recommend some long-term measures to improve management of future immigration by establishing an independent standing commission on these matters and engaging the Mexican government on key related challenges.

### SEEKING FAIR AND EFFECTIVE ADMINISTRATION OF IMMIGRATION LAWS

Wheeler, Russell. The Brookings Institution. August 2009.

http://www.brookings.edu/~/media/Files/rc/papers/2009/07 immigration laws wheeler/07 immigration laws wheeler.pdf (English)

http://www.brookings.edu/~/media/Files/rc/papers/2009/07 immigration laws wheeler/07 immigration laws wheeler es.pdf (Spanish)

"This brief examines how the courts, the Justice Department and the Department of Homeland Security administer justice and enforce immigration laws. They attempt to keep as many illegal entrants out of the country as possible, reduce the availability of illegal employment and take action against some who remain here illegally. In a politically charged climate, both courts and immigration agencies face difficult tasks. An estimated 11 to 12 million residents in the United States are not authorized to be here. Last year, the Homeland Security Department's Immigration and Customs Enforcement removed (formerly "deported") about 350,000 illegal residents. Almost every person facing a final removal order, however, is entitled to contest it in the nation's immigration courts. These courts are not part of the federal court system, whose principal judges are appointed by the president after Senate confirmation; their life tenure and generous resources promote effective and independent decision making. The immigration courts are a unit of the nation's chief law enforcement agency, the Department of Justice, which appoints their judges. They handled almost 300,000 matters last year, making them a key component in the nation's efforts to enforce its immigration laws fairly and effectively. Nevertheless, they have been largely overlooked in the debate over immigration reform, which has chiefly concerned border control and worksite enforcement. By almost all accounts, the immigration courts have too much work for the resources provided them, producing inconsistent decisions and major delays." Russell Wheeler is a visiting fellow in the Brookings Institution's Governance Studies Program and president of the Governance Institute.

# **DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILES OF U.S. HISPANICS BY COUNTRY OF ORIGIN** Pew Hispanic Center. September 16, 2009.

http://pewresearch.org/pubs/1344/demographic-profiles-american-hispanics-mexican-cuban-puerto-rican-salvadoran-dominican

"More than eight-in-ten Hispanics self-identify themselves as being either of Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Salvadoran or Dominican origin. Hispanics of Mexican origin are by far the largest group, accounting for nearly two-thirds of the Hispanic population in the U.S. The five population groups differ along several dimensions -- for example, in the share of each group that is foreign born, citizen (by birth or naturalization) and proficient in English. The groups vary by average age and tend to live in different areas within the United States. Likewise, the groups display varying levels of education, homeownership rates, and poverty rates. These and other characteristics are explored in five fact sheets, one for each country-of-origin group. Each population is also compared to all Hispanics and the U.S. population overall."

# THE HISPANIC ORIGIN POPULATION IN THE UNITED STATES: 2007 AND 2008 U.S. Bureau of Census. September 30, 2009.

http://www.census.gov/Press-

Release/www/releases/archives/hispanic origin population/014335.html [HTML format, various paging]

http://www.census.gov/population/www/socdemo/hispanic/cps2007.html [Tables]

National-level tabulations from the Current Population Survey on the Hispanic population group are shown by a wide range of demographic and socioeconomic characteristics. They include information on the generational distribution of the Hispanic population, as well as of specific groups, such as Mexican, Puerto Rican and Cuban. There are also tabulations on educational attainment, nativity and citizenship status, year of entry of the foreign-born, household type, labor force and employment status, occupation, earnings and poverty, housing tenure, mobility and health insurance status.

#### RACIAL AND ETHNIC DISPARITIES AMONG LOW-INCOME FAMILIES

Simms, Margaret C., et al. Urban Institute. August 11, 2009 [PDF format, 11 pages] <a href="http://www.urban.org/UploadedPDF/411936">http://www.urban.org/UploadedPDF/411936</a> racialandethnic.pdf

"Over the past decade, social policies have undergone significant change. The main policy focus for nonelderly families has been toward encouraging greater work effort, with the expectation that full-time employment, along with some social supports, would enable families to earn enough to provide for their families. There is some consensus that families would need to have incomes above 200 percent of the federal poverty level in order to cover basic household expenses consistently (about \$42,000 for a family of four). The Urban Institute used the 2008 Current Population Survey (which provides income data for 2007) to assess the characteristics of low-income families by race and ethnicity. Over 13.4 million families with children in the United States fall into the low-income category. Most of these families are racial or ethnic minorities. Four million low-income families (or 30 percent of the total) are Hispanic, 2.9 million (22 percent) are black or African American, and about 800,000 (6 percent) are other nonwhites." Margaret C. Simms is a fellow at the Urban Institute and director of the Institute's Low-Income Working Families project.

# PROMOTING NEIGHBORHOOD DIVERSITY: BENEFITS, BARRIERS, AND STRATEGIES

Turner, Margery Austin; Rawlings, Lynette A. The Urban Institute. August 2009 [PDF format, 26 pages]

http://www.urban.org/uploadedpdf/411955promotingneighborhooddiversity.pdf

"This paper summarizes existing research evidence on both the costs of segregation and the potential benefits of neighborhood diversity. It uses decennial census data to show that a growing share of US neighborhoods are racially and ethnically diverse, but that low-income African Americans in particular remain highly concentrated in predominantly minority neighborhoods. Because the dynamics that sustain segregation today are complex, strategies for overcoming them must address not only discrimination, but information gaps, affordability constraints, prejudice, and fear. Public policies played a central role in establishing and enforcing patterns of racial segregation in American neighborhoods, alongside discriminatory practices by private-sector institutions and individuals. But no single causal process explains the persistence of residential segregation in America today. Discrimination, information gaps, stereotypes and fears, and disparities in purchasing power all work together to perpetuate segregation, even though many Americans—minority and white—say they want to live in more diverse neighborhoods. Public policies must intervene to break the cycle of residential segregation. We need multidimensional strategies that tackle the multiple causes of segregation simultaneously." Margery A. Turner is an affiliated Associate Professor at Georgetown Public Policy Institute. Lynette A. Rawlings is a research associate at the Urban Institute.

FULFILLING THE PROMISE OF PRESCHOOL FOR ALL: INSIGHTS INTO ISSUES AFFECTING ACCESS FOR SELECTED IMMIGRANT GROUPS IN CHICAGO

Dams, Gina; McDaniel, Marla. Urban Institute. August 5, 2009 [PDF format, 57 pages] <a href="http://www.urban.org/UploadedPDF/411934">http://www.urban.org/UploadedPDF/411934</a> fulfilling.pdf

The study involved interviews with families from Nigeria and Pakistan living on Chicago's North Side to examine their experiences and perspectives around accessing Illinois' universal preschool program, Preschool for All (PFA). Researchers conducted focus groups with parents and spoke with PFA providers for their perspective on issues families raised. The findings suggest Nigerian and Pakistani families can face numerous barriers accessing Preschool for All. While some barriers are unique to their immigration status, others are experienced by other low-income and vulnerable families as well. The report concludes with implications for policy and recommendations for future research. *Gina Adams and Marla McDaniel are both researchers at the Urban Institute*.

# METROMONITOR: TRACKING ECONOMIC RECESSION AND RECOVERY IN AMERICA'S 100 LARGEST METROPOLITAN AREAS

Metropolitan Policy Program, The Brookings Institution. September 2009 [PDF format, 21 pages]

http://www.brookings.edu/~/media/Files/Programs/Metro/metro monitor/09 metro monitor.pdf

The *MetroMonitor*, an interactive barometer of the health of America's metropolitan economies, looks "beneath the hood" of national economic statistics to portray the diverse metropolitan landscape of recession and recovery across the country. This second edition of the *Monitor* examines indicators through the second quarter of 2009 (ending in June) in the areas of employment, unemployment, output, home prices, and foreclosure rates for the nation's 100 largest metropolitan areas. "The American economy continued to weaken during the months of April, May, and June 2009, but it was no longer in free fall. Employment remained on a downward path—the nation lost nearly 1.3 million jobs during those three months alone—and by June, the national unemployment rate had reached its highest rate in more than 15 years, at 9.5 percent. But the pace of economic decline also slowed during the second quarter. Real Gross Domestic Product (GDP) shrank at an annualized rate of 1 percent, far less than the 6.4 percent rate of contraction during the first quarter of the year. And signs began to emerge that the housing market was stabilizing, with sales of both new and existing single-family homes rising throughout the spring."

### THE INTERNET AND CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

Smith, Aaron, et al. Pew Internet & American Life Project. September 2009 [Note: contains copyrighted material] [PDF format, 66 pages] <a href="http://www.pewinternet.org/~/media/Files/Reports/2009/The%20Internet%20and%20Civic%20Engagement.pdf">http://www.pewinternet.org/~/media/Files/Reports/2009/The%20Internet%20and%20Civic%20Engagement.pdf</a>

"Contrary to the hopes of some advocates, the internet is not changing the socioeconomic character of civic engagement in America, says the report. Just as in offline civic life, the well-to-do and well-educated are more likely than those less well off to participate in online political activities such as emailing a government official, signing an online petition or making a political contribution. Political and civic involvement have long been dominated by those with high levels of income and education, leading some advocates to hope that internet-based engagement might alter this pattern. However, this new report shows that the internet is not changing the fundamental socio-economic character of civic engagement in America. When it comes to online activities such as contributing money, contacting a government official or signing an online petition, the wealthy and well-educated continue to lead the way. Still, there are hints that the new forms of civic engagement anchored in

blogs and social networking sites could alter long-standing patterns. Some 19% of internet users have posted material online about political or social issues or used a social networking site for some form of civic or political engagement. And this group of activists is disproportionately young". Aaron Smith is a research specialist at the Pew Internet & American Life Project.

#### THE U.S. NEWSPAPER INDUSTRY IN TRANSITION

Kirchhoff, Suzanne M. Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress. July 8, 2009 [PDF format, 26 pages]

http://assets.opencrs.com/rpts/R40700 20090708.pdf

"The U.S. newspaper industry is suffering through what could be its worst financial crisis since the Great Depression. Advertising revenues are plummeting due to the severe economic downturn, while readership habits are changing as consumers turn to the Internet for free news and information. Some major newspaper chains are burdened by heavy debt loads. In the past year, seven major newspaper chains have declared bankruptcy, several big city papers have shut down, and many have laid off reporters and editors, imposed pay reductions, cut the size of the physical newspaper, or turned to Web-only publication. As the problems intensify, there are growing concerns that the rapid decline of the newspaper industry will impact civic and social life. As old-style, print newspapers decline, new journalism startups are developing around the country, aided by low entry costs on the Internet. The emerging ventures hold promise but do not have the experience, resources, and reach of shrinking mainstream newspapers. Congress has begun debating whether the financial problems in the newspaper industry pose a public policy issue that warrants federal action. Whether a congressional response to the current turmoil is justified may depend on the current causes of the crisis. If the causes are related to significant technological shifts (the Internet, smart phones and electronic readers) or societal changes that are disruptive to established business models and means of news dissemination, the policy options may be quite limited, especially if new models of reporting (and, equally important, advertising) are beginning to emerge." Suzanne M. Kirchhoff is an Analyst in Industrial Organization and Business at the CRS.

# THE CLEAN ENERGY INVESTMENT AGENDA: A COMPREHENSIVE APPROACH TO BUILDING THE LOW-CARBON ECONOMY

Podesta, John, et.al. Center for American Progress. September 21, 2009 [PDF format, 16 pages]

http://www.americanprogress.org/issues/2009/09/pdf/clean\_energy\_investment.pdf

"The United States is having the wrong public debate about global warming. We are asking important questions about pollution caps and timetables, carbon markets and allocations, but we have lost sight of our principal objective: building a robust and prosperous clean energy economy. This is a fundamentally *affirmative* agenda, rather than a restrictive one. Moving beyond pollution from fossil fuels will involve exciting work, new opportunities, new products and innovation, and stronger communities. Our current national discussion about constraints, limits, and the costs of transition misses the real excitement in this proposition. It is as if, on the cusp of an Internet and telecommunications revolution, debate centered only on the cost of fiber optic cable." *John Podesta is the President and CEO of the Center for American Progress.* 

FIGHTING OIL ADDICTION: RANKING STATES' OIL VULNERABILITY AND SOLUTIONS FOR CHANGE

Natural Resources Defense Council. August 2009 [Note: contains copyrighted material] [PDF format, 21 pages]

http://www.nrdc.org/energy/states/files/states.pdf

The report analyzes how heavily drivers in each state are affected by increases in oil prices and ranked states on their adoption of solutions to reduce their oil dependence, measures they are taking to lessen their vulnerability and to bolster America's security. NRDC found that rising gas prices, combined with the economic downturn, are making people more vulnerable to changes in oil prices. But many states are taking significant steps to reduce oil dependence through smart clean-transportation policies.

# AMERICA'S ENERGY FUTURE: TECHNOLOGY AND TRANSFORMATION: SUMMARY EDITION

Committee on America's Energy Future; National Academy of Sciences; National Research Council. July 28, 2009 [HTML format with links] http://www.nap.edu/catalog.php?record\_id=12710#toc

"This report addresses a potential new portfolio of energy-supply and end-use technologies—their states of development, costs, implementation barriers, and impacts—both at present and projected over the next two to three decades. The report's aim is to inform policymakers about technology options for transforming energy production, distribution, and use to increase sustainability, support long-term economic prosperity, promote energy security, and reduce adverse environmental impacts. Among the wide variety of technologies under development that *might* become available in the future, this report focuses on those with the best prospects of fully maturing during the three time periods considered: 2008–2020, 2020–2035, and 2035–2050. This book considers technologies to increase energy efficiency, coal-fired power generation, nuclear power, renewable energy, oil and natural gas, and alternative transportation fuels. It assesses the associated impacts and projected costs of implementing each technology and categorizes them into three time frames for implementation."

### **ARTICLES**

## WASHINGTON HOLD 'EM: THE NEW ERA IN U.S. POLITICS

Cook, Charles E., Jr. *The Washington Quarterly*. October 2009, pp.191-196. <a href="http://www.twq.com/09october/docs/09oct\_Cook.pdf">http://www.twq.com/09october/docs/09oct\_Cook.pdf</a>

"With few exceptions, midterm elections are not contests between the two major political parties or even ideology, but are referenda on the president and the president's party. Two years into a new presidency, the public is afforded the opportunity to express their approval or disapproval of their new leader and the direction charted by the new president. Their vote can signal either ratification or call for a midcourse correction. Looking toward the 2010 midterm elections, for Republicans there is a bit of the "good news and bad news" dynamic at work. Critics complain that the party lacks strong leadership, that their message is stale, that the demographic profile of support for the party is ominous, and that the party is badly losing ground among young people, minorities, college graduates, and suburban voters. The last two elections have been devastating for the once omnipotent GOP. Far beyond simply losing last year's presidential race, Republicans suffered a net loss of 54 seats in the House of Representatives in the 2006 and 2008 elections, and lost their majority as a result. With the seating of Democrat and former comedian Al Franken of Minnesota, Republicans will have lost 14 Senate seats in that same span, which is the first time that either party has dropped to 40 seats since Jimmy Carter was president. Just four

years ago, Republicans held a clear majority—28 governorships to just 22 for Democrats. Today those numbers are reversed." Charles E. Cook, Jr. writes weekly columns for National Journal and CongressDaily AM, published by the National Journal Group. He is a political analyst for NBC News and editor and publisher of the Cook Political Report, a Washington-based, nonpartisan newsletter analyzing U.S. politics and elections.

# FORECASTING THE MIDTERM ELECTIONS: AN EARLY LOOK AT WHAT TO EXPECT IN 2010

Abramowitz, Alan I. *Larry Sabato's Crystal Ball*. September 3, 2009. http://www.centerforpolitics.org/crystalball/article.php?id=AIA2009090301

"Democrats are likely to lose at least 15 seats in the House of Representatives in 2010 and their losses could go as high as 30-40 seats. The Senate looks more promising for Democrats because there are as many Republican as Democratic seats up for election next year but a loss of 3-4 seats is entirely possible. Given the deep partisan divide in both chambers, diminished majorities will make it much more difficult for Democrats to pass any major legislation in the next Congress. If anything, Republican leaders emboldened by a successful election are likely to be even less interested in compromise with the White House and Democratic leaders than now. If Democrats can't pass health care, carbon caps, and immigration reform in the current Congress, they probably won't have another chance until at least 2013." Larry J. Sabato's Crystal Ball web site, run by the University of Virginia's Center for Politics, features analyses of presidential elections, Senate, House and gubernatorial races. *Dr. Alan Abramowitz is the Alben W. Barkley Professor of Political Science at Emory University*.

### THE DECLINE OF THE WHITE WORKING CLASS AND THE RISE OF A MASS UPPER-MIDDLE CLASS

Abramowitz, Alan; Teixeira, Ruy. Political Science Quarterly. Fall 2009, pp.391-422.

The authors document the dramatic decline in the white working class and discuss the complicated ways this decline has transformed American politics. They also discuss the emergence of a mass upper-middle class whose effects on American politics may be similarly complicated. "This article focuses on the decline of the white working class—past, present and future. It is worth taking a few moments to consider other changes in the class structure that have accompanied this decline. Most of these changes have been covered in passing in our discussion: increasing affluence, the rise of the college educated, the growth of the professional-managerial class (especially professionals), and so on. We focus here on one particular aspect of these changes: the rise of a mass upper-middle class. That is, it is not only true that more and more Americans over time have attained what might be called a middle-class standard of living, it is also true that more and more Americans have reached a level of affluence we might call upper-middle class. This term serves to differentiate them from the truly rich on the one hand and the ordinary middle class on the other." Ruy Teixeira is a Senior Fellow at both The Century Foundation and Center for American Progress. Alan Abramowitz is the Alben W. Barkley Professor of Political Science at Emory University.

# **CAPITALISM AFTER THE CRISIS**

Zingales, Luigi. *National Affairs*. Fall 2009, pp. 22-35. <a href="http://nationalaffairs.com/publications/detail/capitalism-after-the-crisis">http://nationalaffairs.com/publications/detail/capitalism-after-the-crisis</a>

Zingales writes that the nature of the financial crisis, and the government's response to it, threatens to undermine America's unique brand of capitalism, and move the country in the

direction of state corporatism. Unlike much of the rest of the West, democracy in America predates industrialization, so by the latter half of the nineteenth century, the American public had high expectations for fairness in economic policy; the concept of anti-trust law is a prime example. He notes that the pro-market aspects of American capitalism have been eclipsed by the pro-business forces, those that promote the interests of existing businesses. The financial sector's increasing concentration and political muscle, and the government bailouts for the major financial firms, threatens to start a vicious cycle. Zingales believes that the U.S. capitalism is at a crossroads. One path is to enact genuine reforms, even if they do not serve the interests of Wall Street, but he sees the current administration taking the other path, consisting of cosmetic measures like limits on executive bonuses, while shoring up the positions of the large financial firms, making the economy more dependent on government. Luigi Zingales is Robert C. McCormack Professor of Entrepreneurship and Finance at the University of Chicago Booth School of Business.

### ISLAMIC SCHOLARS PLAN FOR AMERICA'S FIRST MUSLIM COLLEGE

Masterson, Kathryn. Chronicle of Higher Education. September 25, 2009, pp.17-20.

"In fall 2010, Zaytuna College hopes to open in Berkeley, California as the first accredited Muslim college in the U.S. For the first time, Muslim college students will have the option of studying Islam in the U.S. from a mainstream Muslim tradition rather than from a secular perspective. The institute, founded in 1996 to promote understanding between different faiths and cultures, started a pilot seminary program in 2004 that graduated five students last year. Zaytuna's founders, Sheik Hamza Yusuf and Imam Zaid Shakir, see an urgent need to educate new leaders for the estimated 2,200 mosques and 500 Islamic elementary and secondary schools in the U.S. They also plan to operate their college at a level comparable to the best religious seminaries and general institutions of higher education, and will seek accreditation from the Western Association of Schools and Colleges. They have been raising money at house parties around the country, but still need another \$5 million to open the college on schedule in 2010. At the annual conference of the Islamic Society of North America this summer, the two drew enthusiastic SRO crowds and support. They pledged not to accept money from foreign governments but to do most of their fundraising in the U.S."

### **AMERICA FALLING: LONGTIME DOMINANCE IN EDUCATION ERODES**

Fischer, Karin. Chronicle of Higher Education. October 9, 2009, pp. 21-23.

The U.S. is still the top choice of international students; but by many measures, U.S. preeminence in education is eroding. As evidence of this erosion, Fischer cites the low percentage of Americans graduating with majors in engineering, the declining percentage of highly-qualified, low-income students who go to college and continuing rounds of budget cuts. Many who start doctoral programs fail to finish, especially women and minorities; more than half of the doctorates awarded by U.S. institutions went to foreign students. "I'm worried we won't realize what's at stake until it's too late," says Charles Vest, former president of MIT. The current economic and fiscal crisis has put U.S. public higher education in a more precarious situation because federal and state requirements have often put such programs as Medicaid and elementary and secondary education off-limits for budget-cutting purposes, leaving higher education to take the brunt of the cuts, as in California. Some experts are calling for a larger federal role and long-term strategic planning; others are leery of an enlarged federal role and call instead for a national discussion of education. The U.S. system was never designed to educate most Americans, says Patrick Callan, president of the National Center for Public Policy and Higher Education;

"We're still stuck on having the best high-education system of the 20th century, when it's almost a decade into the 21st century."

### THE STORY BEHIND THE STORY

Bowden, Mark. *The Atlantic.* October 2009. http://www.theatlantic.com/doc/200910/media

Unbiased journalism is being replaced by the work of "political hit men," Bowden says, citing the televised treatment of Judge Sonia Sotomayor after she was nominated by Obama for the U.S. Supreme Court. The information on Sotomayor -- specifically the "make policy" and "Latina woman" comments -- wasn't uncovered by journalists, but simply reprocessed by television news rooms from conservative web sites. The conservative Judicial Confirmation Network had gathered an "attack dossier" on each of the prospective Supreme Court nominees and had fed them all to the networks in advance, Bowden says. He decries the demise of the disinterested newspaper reporter: "What gave newspapers their value was the mission and promise of journalism -- the hope that someone was getting paid to wade into the daily tide of manure, sort through its deliberate lies and cunning half-truths, and tell a story straight." Mark Bowden, an Atlantic Monthly national correspondent, is an author, journalist, screenwriter, and teacher. He is also an adjunct professor at Loyola College of Maryland, where he teaches creative writing and journalism.

### TAKE A STAND: HOW JOURNALISM CAN REGAIN ITS RELEVANCE

Cunningham, Brent. *Columbia Journalism Review*. September/October 2009. <a href="http://www.cjr.org/feature/take">http://www.cjr.org/feature/take</a> a stand.php

Journalism in America has been damaged by its abdication of an adversarial role in public discourse. Instead, it "mostly amplifies the agendas of others—the prominent and powerful," maintains the author. He examines the changing dynamic of the news media and questions whether it has the ability to moderate public conversation and introduce new angles and ideas on national issues. Calling press objectivity "a trap" that lessens journalism's beneficial impact, he says the press needs to be on the side of the people and become a platform for establishing a public agenda. *Brent Cunningham is is CJR's managing editor.* 

### THE MOGULS' NEW CLOTHES

Greenwald, Bruce; Knee, Jonathan; Seave, Ava. *The Atlantic*. October 2009. <a href="http://www.theatlantic.com/doc/200910/moguls">http://www.theatlantic.com/doc/200910/moguls</a>

"Even before the Internet upended their industry, big media companies were turning in poor performances and disappointing their shareholders. The four tenets of media industry wisdom — growth, globalization, content and convergence — are myths, these authors insist. Growth has actually resulted in lower stock performance, and globalization doesn't necessarily lead to higher profits. Creating superior content makes more money for the artists than for the media companies hosting their work. And finally, increased competition from multiple media sources and the Internet undercut the advantage traditional big media companies had of economies of scale and captive customers. The only real avenue to salvation that the traditional media industry has open is unglamorous: improving the efficiency of their operations." Jonathan A. Knee is an adjunct professor and the director of the Media Program at Columbia Business School. Bruce C. Greenwald is the Robert Heilbrunn Professor of Finance and Asset Management at Columbia Business School. Ava Seave is co-founder of the Quantum Media consulting firm.

### TAKING THE GREAT AMERICAN ROADTRIP

Theroux, Paul. *Smithsonian Magazine*. September 2009, pp. 70-77. http://www.smithsonianmag.com/travel/The-Long-Way-Home-USA.html

Paul Theroux is one of the masters of travel writing, but he opens this article for Smithsonian admitting that he has never seen a great deal of his own country. He begins his cross-country road trip in Los Angeles, heading to his home in Cape Cod, Massachusetts with the plan that the journey is the destination. Along the way, he makes many of the iconic stops of the American road trip -- the Las Vegas strip, the Red Rocks of Arizona, the memorial to victims of the Oklahoma City terrorist attack, and the blues bars on Memphis' Beale Street. He finds barren deserts, ferocious weather, and pastoral scenes which he likens to similar places he has seen in distant countries. But at the end of his more than 5,400 kilometer journey, Theroux observes that he experienced "not a moment of alienation or danger, no roadblocks, no sign of officialdom, never a second of feeling I was somewhere different."

Information Provided by the Information Resource Center U.S. Embassy Madrid <a href="http://www.embusa.es/irc">http://www.embusa.es/irc</a>

Views expressed in the articles are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect U.S. government policies.